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ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1911

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian submitted the usual monthly report of donors.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift to the Society, by Mr. Lord, of a medal prepared for distribution at the tercentenary, in 1904, of the DeMonts and Champlain settlements in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from George H. Blakeslee accepting his election as a Resident Member, and from Andrew D. White as an Honorary Member.

The Editor announced the gift from Edmund A. Whitman, of Cambridge, of the Civil War papers of his father, Col. Edmund Burke Whitman. They not only contain original war maps, but also correspondence with the Department of War in the years subsequent to the war, when Colonel Whitman was actively employed in gathering the dead soldiers and establishing national cemeteries. This material has not been used in the War Records, and throws a vivid light upon one of the results of the civil contest. Original documents were also supplied for publication by Samuel S. Shaw and Mrs. Bradley Gilman; and a gift from Horace and Andrew McF. Davis of a letter from their mother describing the social condition in Washington in January, 1839.

The preparation of the memoir of Francis Cabot Lowell was assigned to Frederic J. Stimson.

Mr. THAYER, as delegate to a meeting in New York to promote the publication of a Dictionary of American Biography, made a report upon the action of the meeting; and Professor

HART explained the manner in which the movement for such a dictionary originated, the progress thus far made, and the scope of the movement as a whole.

Governor LONG, Senior Member-at-Large of the Council, read the following

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Since the last Annual Meeting the following changes have taken place in the membership of the Society:

Deaths:

Resident Members.

1865, Josiah Phillips Quincy	Oct. 31, 1910.
1895, Morton Dexter	Oct. 29, 1910.
1896, Francis Cabot Lowell	March 6, 1911.
1900, James Frothingham Hunnewell . . .	Nov. 11, 1910.
1905, John Lathrop	Aug. 24, 1910.

Honorary Member.

1864, 1904, Goldwin Smith	June 7, 1910.
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Corresponding Member.

1878, John Austin Stevens	June 16, 1910.
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Terminated by settlement in the State:

1904, Frederick Jackson Turner	Nov. 10, 1910.
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Terminated by transfer to Honorary Membership:

1879, Andrew Dickson White	March 9, 1911.
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Elections:

Resident Members.

Henry Morton Lovering	May 12, 1910.
Edward Waldo Emerson	June 9, 1910.
Curtis Guild, Jr.	Oct. 13, 1910.
Frederick Jackson Turner	Nov. 10, 1910.
Gardner Weld Allen	Dec. 8, 1910.
Henry Herbert Edes	Jan. 12, 1911.
George Hubbard Blakeslee	March 9, 1911.

Honorary Member.

Andrew Dickson White March 9, 1911.

Corresponding Members.

Charles William Chadwick Oman Nov. 10, 1910.

Samuel Verplanck Hoffman Jan. 12, 1911.

It has been said, and with some apparent truth, that the Society prints too much, and in erring in this direction tends to lessen the utility of its publications. Compared with the output in print of other like societies, the charge of excess holds true, for a quarterly magazine or an annual volume is the usual product of our sister societies. We issue a magazine in nine numbers a year containing the proceedings of the meetings and original documents, and at least one volume of collections. The volume of *Collections* is defensible, and the sixty-six volumes thus far printed contain a mine of information on New England history, the value of which may be tested by the frequency of reference to them in any history, whether of New England or of the United States. The *Proceedings* are composed of papers read or presented at the meetings of the Society, and original documents of an historical character. These documents are of such a nature as have historical interest, yet are not such as could be logically formed into volumes of collections. The "papers" are voluntary contributions, the result of personal investigation and upon subjects of interest to the writer. It is sometimes a question whether the results are of such general interest as to warrant publication, and the question is of some delicacy. That the essay may be of service at some time to some investigator in history or genealogy, is a very broad measure for testing its quality, and in this direction some reduction in quantity of publication may be made. This is a matter requiring consideration, as it involves many nice points, personal and general.

It is also suggested that to many members it would be more convenient if the pamphlet editions of our *Proceedings* had the leaves cut.

As to the publications of the Society, a volume of *Proceedings* (the 43d in regular sequence) was issued in the fall, cover-

ing the meetings of the Society from October, 1909, to June, 1910. It contained original papers of some moment historically, and many documents relating to the history of Massachusetts and New England. Perhaps the most notable paper was the "Description of the City of Washington in the Secession Winter of 1860-61," by Mr. Henry Adams, and the recovery of an address on the "Opium War," made at the instance of the Society in 1841, by John Quincy Adams. The issue of *Collections* will be resumed by printing the *Diaries of Cotton Mather*. The first volume is now in type, and will be distributed to the members shortly. The contract for printing Bradford's *History* is nearly complete, and in the fall the volume will be in the hands of the members. The Proceedings of the meetings since last October have been printed, with some delays; but all, through the meeting of March, are in type. For the coming year, in addition to the Bradford and the annual volume of *Proceedings*, there will be issued a second volume of Cotton Mather's *Diaries*, and, it is hoped, another volume of *Collections*.

In August the Society entered upon a new departure—that of employing a skilled repairer of manuscripts to treat its immensely valuable store of original papers that have accumulated since its institution. The intention was to secure thoroughly experienced skill, and to apply it, through the most modern methods, for preserving material of this nature. The policy has justified itself. Three collections have already been treated. Each document that required repair has received attention, and then has been mounted and bound in series in a form that will be permanent. Finding that the earliest volumes of the first newspaper printed in an English Colony in America, the *Boston News-Letter*, had suffered much by the deterioration of the paper, making it unsafe to handle the leaves, particular attention was given to bettering their condition. It was decided to resize each leaf, and then mount and bind in the same manner as manuscripts are treated. Particularly decrepit copies were covered with silk. Thus the file is in an even better condition than when it was issued from the press. These methods are not experimental, and therefore cannot result in any damage to the texture of the paper; the benefit is permanent. Considering the risk of loss and the want of proper at-

tention involved in sending manuscripts and papers of this description out of the building, the arguments for continuing this process or repair are many and convincing. It is also economical, and furnishes every opportunity for consultation and intelligent decision of every question as it may arise.

The Society is still a publishing society, but it has grown immensely in another direction, and that is in its collections. The Council cannot urge too strongly the deposit of manuscripts in the Society, as best fulfilling what should be the aim of all who possess historical material, and performing the highest functions indicated by the founders of the Society. Mention need only be made of two serious losses recently incurred by the fires in the state houses of Kansas and of New York. Papers in private hands are always subject to many chances of loss, distribution and forgetfulness. The Society offers the best depository and at the same time a certainty of scientific care and proper usage of the material, with an expectation of publication in the future. Preservation, control of material, and printing so as to make it accessible to all who are interested, — these constitute what are and must be the properest functions of a society such as this is. The collections are already rich, but there is no limit to what may be had, from the outside, of papers of the highest historical value.

While primarily a society for publishing, collecting and preserving historical material, printed and in manuscript, it fulfils another function of no mean proportion. As the oldest society of the kind in the United States it has served in its organization and publications as a model for others, something to be studied and, so far as merited, imitated. In its general spirit of endeavor, in its maintenance of a high standard of historical and antiquarian research and in its sustained enthusiasm and performance, it has done well, and as an active and social element holds a rank second to none. The sentiment that pertains to such a society is something of an asset in itself, like the good-will of a merchant, and upon its members rests the duty of cherishing and keeping it at its highest productive capacity.

A society is always in want of money, and this Society offers no exception to the general rule. It has its responsibilities as well as its ambitions to uphold, and they are expensive. The cost of printing has followed the course of other "necessities of

life," and the maintenance and improvement of the building is another item to be met. The Society can use additional funds both for printing and for extending its convenience and necessities. Among needed or desirable changes may be named an elevator, that our members may more easily reach the room of meeting, a remodelling of the cabinet, that the objects may be better displayed, and the proper labelling of the portraits, that the legends may more readily be read by old as well as by young eyes. Gifts or deposits of books and manuscripts are ever welcome, but it should ever be borne in mind that with the growth of its collections the need for money also becomes greater.

The TREASURER submitted the following statement for the financial year:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1911.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty in number. Of these special funds twenty-nine are described in the recent reports of the Treasurer. The remaining fund was received on June 9, 1910, from our former associate the late James Frothingham Hunnewell, being a gift of five thousand dollars. In accordance with the vote of the Council the Treasurer has set apart this gift under the name of

THE HUNNEWELL FUND,

the purpose of the Fund as stated in his letter of gift being as follows:

the income to be used in purchase of the rarer books needed for the Society's library. If at a future date some of my books come to the Society, the income of this Fund can be used for binding or repair of the same or obtaining books to supply deficiencies.

The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS.

SCHEDULE OF BONDS.

Chicago & West Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1921	\$14,000.00
Chicago & North Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1931	1,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939	5,000.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co.	4%	1921	8,000.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co.	4%	1922	2,000.00
Cincinnati, Dayton & Ironton R. R.	5%	1941	5,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995 "adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1915	13,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946	10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929	10,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co.	5%	1928	30,000.00
Lewiston-Concord Bridge Co.	5%	1924	12,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944	6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929	10,000.00
N. Pacific & Great Northern R. R.	4%	1921 "joint"	50,000.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	5%	1913 "convertible"	12,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949	6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934	15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951	10,000.00
Detroit, Grand Rapids & Western R. R.	4%	1946	2,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927	9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925	3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923	2,000.00
West End Street Railway Co.	4%	1915	6,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	%	1939	10,000.00
United Electric Securities	5%	1939	15,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	4%	1939	10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932	5,000.00
Maine Central R. R.	4½%	1912	5,000.00
Baltimore Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1913	10,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929	5,000.00
Par value			<u>\$324,500.00</u>

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	\$5,000.00
50	State National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Bank of Commerce, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
25	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	2,500.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co. Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
150	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
3	Pacific Mills	3,000.00
50	Seattle Electric Co. Pfd.	5,000.00
1194	Shares	Par value <u>\$127,500.00</u>

SCHEDULE OF NOTES RECEIVABLE.

G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee, Mortgage 6%	\$10,000.00
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SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS.

M. A. Parker Fund.	\$1,003.96
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	174.31
	<u>\$1,178.27</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds, par value	\$324,500.00
Stocks, par value	127,500.00
Notes receivable	10,000.00
Savings Bank Books	1,178.27
	<u>\$463,178.27</u>

Represented by Balance, Investment account \$460,109.45

The balance sheet follows and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1911.

Investment Account,		Funds, Exhibit III . . .	\$417,892.91
Exhibit I	\$460,109.45	Accumulated Income of	
Real Estate	97,990.32	Funds, Exhibit IV . . .	50,169.57
Cash on hand, Exhibit II	7,953.03		\$468,062.48
		Building Fund	72,990.32
		Ellis House	25,000.00
	<u>\$566,052.80</u>		<u>\$566,052.80</u>

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance, March 31, 1910	\$458,825.83
Bought during year:	
\$10,000 Baltimore Gas Electric Co. 5% Bonds . .	\$9,750.00
5,000 Seattle Electric Co. 5% Bonds	4,925.00
Accrued Interest, M. A. Parker Bank Book	40.73
Accrued Interest, Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	8.20
Total Additions, Exhibit II	14,723.93
	<u>\$473,549.76</u>
Received on account G. St. L. Abbott Note	\$3,000.00
Received payment, A. & C. F. Ammand Note	3,500.00
Sold 4000 C. B. & Q. 3½% Bonds	3,510.00
Sold 3000 A. T. & S. Fé 4% Bonds (convertibles) . .	3,266.25
Withdrawn from Savings Banks to replace payments on account of the respective Funds:	
M. A. Parker Fund.	113.06
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	51.00
Total Deductions, Exhibit II	13,440.31
Balance Investment Account, March 31, 1911	\$460,109.45
Increase during year	\$1,283.62

EXHIBIT II.

CASH ACCOUNT.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1910	\$497.43
Accrued Interest, Bonds Bought, March 30, 1910	62.50
Receipts during year to March 31, 1911:	559.93
Sale Publications	\$447.56
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.	28.26
Income from Investments, Exhibit IV	24,388.42
Interest from Savings Bank Books	48.93
Interest on Bank Balances	202.08
	<u>\$25,115.25</u>
Investments sold or paid off, Exhibit I	13,440.31
Gift of James F. Hunnewell	5,000.00
Sale Book, Ellis Fund	3.00
	<u>\$43,558.56</u>
	\$44,118.49

Brought over		\$44,118.49	
<i>Payments</i>			
Investment Account, Securities bought . .	\$14,675.00		
Savings Banks	48.93		
Total, Exhibit I		\$14,723.93	
<i>Income Account:</i>			
Bindery	1,024.63		
Binding	383.75		
Books	1,603.42		
Brattle St. Model	51.00		
<i>Building:</i>			
Cleaning	\$175.54		
Engineer	1,034.00		
Fuel	467.50		
Furniture	167.25		
Lighting	92.14		
Repairs	510.26		
Supplies	21.32		
Telephone	112.59		
Water	73.00	2,653.60	
Portraits	277.50		
Postage	145.40		
Printing	151.89		
<i>Publications:</i>			
Proceedings	\$2,888.76		
Illustrations and Reprints	429.57	3,318.33	
<i>Salaries:</i>			
Librarian's Assistants	\$4,820.00		
Editor and Assistants	6,055.00	10,875.00	
Stationery		42.56	
<i>Treasurer's Office:</i>			
Bond	\$25.00		
Bookkeeper	600.00		
Office Expenses	1.85		
Public Accountant	25.00		
Safety Vault	50.00	701.85	
Miscellaneous		212.60	21,441.53
Total Payments			36,165.46
Balance on hand, March 31, 1911			\$7,953.03
<i>Accounted for as follows:</i>			
Additions to Funds, Exhibit III			\$7,589.38
<i>Less increase in investments</i>			
Amount Invested, Exhibit I	\$14,723.93		
Amount paid off, Exhibit I	13,440.31		1,283.62
Uninvested Balance—Principal			\$6,305.76
Income during year, Exhibit II	\$25,115.25		
less added to Centenary Funds	2,586.38		
Net Income available, Exhibit VI	\$22,528.87		
Less Expenditures, Exhibit II	21,441.53		
Surplus Income for year	\$1,087.34		
Cash on hand, March 31, 1910	559.93		
Unexpended Balance—Income			1,647.27
Total Cash on hand, March 31, 1911			\$7,953.03

EXHIBIT III.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1910-1911.

Amount of Funds, March 31, 1910	\$410,393.53	
<i>Added during Year</i>		
Gift of James F. Hunnewell	\$5,000.00	
Additions to Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	205.92	
J. L. Sibley Fund	2,380.46	
Ellis Fund	3.00	7,589.38
Total of Funds, March 31, 1911		<u>\$417,892.91</u>

EXHIBIT IV.

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS.

Balance Accumulated Income, March 31, 1910	\$64,683.57	
Income from Investments during year, Exhibit II . .	\$24,388.42	
Interest on Bank Balances	202.08	
Interest on Savings Bank Books	48.93	
Sale of Publications	447.56	
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.	28.26	
Additions to Funds, Exhibit VI		25,115.25
		<u>\$89,798.82</u>
Less:		
Balance General Account charged Various Funds. . .	\$15,601.34	
Payments during Year charged Various Funds . . .	21,441.53	
Deductions from Funds, Exhibit VI.	\$37,042.87	
Accretion to Anonymous Fund	205.92	
Sibley Centenary Fund	2,380.46	39,629.25
Balance Accumulated Income, March 31, 1911		<u>\$50,169.57</u>
Amount General Fund, March 31, 1910,		
charged off, Exhibit V	\$15,601.34	
Surplus Income for year, Exhibit II	1,087.34	
Decrease during year	<u>\$14,514.00</u>	

EXHIBIT V.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Amount at Debit this Account, March 31, 1910	\$15,601.34	
Charged to Accumulated Income of the following		
Funds:		
Waterston Publishing Fund	\$899.21	
Peabody Fund	400.00	
J. L. Sibley Fund	14,302.13	<u>15,601.34</u>

See Exhibit IV.

EXHIBIT VI.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING
MARCH 31, 1911.

	Balance Mar. 31, '10	Income	Expendi- tures	Balance Mar. 31, '11	Funds
Amory	\$1,735.23	\$183.07	\$157.13	\$1,761.17	\$3,000.00
Appleton	6,236.29	744.70	575.11	6,405.88	12,203.00
Bigelow	552.36	122.03	154.36	520.03	2,000.00
Billings	2,428.09	610.28	415.62	2,622.75	10,000.00
Brattle St.	117.11	8.20	51.00	74.31	100.00
Chamberlain	58.67	80.15	73.00	65.82	1,232.33
Dowse		610.28	590.00	20.28	10,000.00
Ellis		1,932.66	1,851.56	81.10	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,676.06	183.08	175.00	2,684.14	3,000.00
General		3,182.01	2,711.15	470.86	44,427.43
Hunnewell		188.75	17.50	171.25	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,087.06	183.08	75.00	1,195.14	3,000.00
Lowell	365.73	183.08	175.00	373.81	3,000.00
Mass. Hist.	5,271.57	610.36	589.40	5,292.53	10,000.00
Parker	76.29	40.73	113.06	3.96	1,000.00
Peabody	4,318.58	1,350.05	1,753.49	3,915.14	22,123.00
Salisbury		305.15	232.64	72.51	5,000.00
Savage	527.96	366.20	624.90	269.26	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		1,373.56	1,260.32	113.24	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	22,707.27	7,388.58	21,542.22	8,553.63	121,077.00
Slafra		61.03	3.30	57.73	1,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,200.92	305.15	40.00	1,466.07	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,750.75	610.27	1,202.90	4,158.12	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,267.97	610.28	1,509.08	2,369.17	10,000.00
Waterston Library	285.32	236.47	176.00	345.79	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	5,414.09	610.27	571.67	5,452.69	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	281.51	144.25	107.50	318.26	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,324.74	305.15	294.96	1,334.93	5,000.00
Sibley Centenary					49,989.76
Anonymous Centenary					4,324.45
<i>Balance, Mar. 31, 1910</i>	<i>\$64,683.57</i>				
<i>Income</i>	<i>22,528.87</i>	<i>\$ 22,528.87</i>	<i>\$37,042.87</i>	<i>\$50,169.57</i>	
	<i>\$87,212.44</i>	<i>2,380.46</i>	<i>Accretion to Sibley Centenary</i>		
<i>Expenditures . . .</i>	<i>37,042.87</i>	<i>205.92</i>	<i>Accretion to Anony- mous Centenary</i>		
<i>Balance, Mar. 31, 1911</i>	<i>\$50,169.57</i>	<i>\$25,115.25</i>	<i>Total Additions</i>		
Total Funds					\$417,892.91

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was six per cent of the funds.

The present condition of the Society is shown in detail in the foregoing statements and abstracts, but it may be convenient to give a short summary.

The real estate, which is entirely unincumbered, stands on the books at \$97,990.32, but is valued by the City Assessors at \$197,000. The aggregate amount of the permanent funds is \$417,892.91, which together with the unexpended balances and income is represented by securities and deposits and amounts to \$460,109.45, as per schedule given above.

ARTHUR LORD,

Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1911.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to April 1, 1911, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Henry A. Piper, a Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

THOMAS MINNS, }
HAROLD MURDOCK, } *Committee.*

BOSTON, April 7, 1911.

The LIBRARIAN then reported that during the year there have been added to the Library:

Books	1435
Pamphlets	1664
Newspapers, bound volumes (116 bought)	128
Unbound volumes	9
Broad­sides	73
Maps	57
Manuscripts	496
Bound volumes	7
Total	3869

Of the volumes 749 have been given, 625 bought and 196 formed by binding. Of the pamphlets added 1606 have been given, and 343 bought; and 285 pamphlets in the Library have been bound.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 1252 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 108 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 16,989 manuscripts.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 48 volumes have been given and 80 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 67 have been given and 109 bought. There are now in the collection 3451 volumes, 6513 pamphlets, 507 broadsides, and 111 maps.

Impressions of the book plate, engraved by Mr. Sidney Lawton Smith, have been made for books bought from the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund and from that of the Charlotte A. L. Sibley Fund.

The Library now contains 53,231 volumes, 114,411 pamphlets, and 4891 broadsides.

The CABINET-KEEPER reported the following additions to the Cabinet:

Photogravures:

Fairbanks House, Dedham (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 544).

Stuart's Washington at Dorchester Heights (p. 87, *supra*).

Portraits of Matthew Holworthy and Susanna Henley, Lady Holworthy, a gift from Henry W. Cunningham.

Engravings:

Massachusetts statesmen, etc. (p. 87, *supra*).

William Pynchon (p. 87, *supra*).

Photographs: Portrait of Sir William Phips.

Etchings: Confederate war pictures (p. 87, *supra*).

Lithographs: American statesmen (p. 87, *supra*).

Envelopes: War issues (p. 87, *supra*).

Medals:

Founding of Quebec (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 655).

Harvard College Clubs (p. 363, *supra*).

Bas-relief portrait: Edward Everett (p. 217, *supra*).

Pike: John Brown (p. 217, *supra*).

Plate: Otis Norcross and Co. (p. 87, *supra*).

Deposit: Hair of George and Martha Washington (p. 87, *supra*).

During the year the following portraits have been restored under the direction of Hermann Dudley Murphy: Thomas Prince, Mrs. Anne Pollard, John Wentworth, Isaac Collins, Benjamin Pollard, Mrs. Mary Smibert and Simeon Stoddard.

Professor TURNER read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND THE CABINET.

Your Committee desires to express its appreciation of the courtesy with which its inspection was facilitated by Dr. Green and the Library staff, and by Mr. Norcross, the Cabinet-Keeper. We are impressed by their devotion to the Library and the Cabinet, and by the importance of the Society's possessions.

The responsibility of the Society for surrounding its treasures with all of the security possible against fire was peculiarly forced upon our consideration by the irreparable losses suffered in the recent burning of the Capitol at Albany, where manuscripts and other collections of importance to history were destroyed. Doubtless the authorities supposed they had provided adequate protection. But, considering the trust reposed in the Massachusetts Historical Society by the families which have confided their papers to its care, the Committee believes that due recognition of these gifts, and due attention to the need of inspiring future donors with a sense of the security of the collections, demand that the Society should make doubly sure that all that is possible is done to ensure ample protection.

We are satisfied that the authorities of the Society and their assistants are aware of the importance of avoiding the accumulation of rubbish and inflammable material about the rooms. Our observations convinced us that general neatness characterized the building. In every library, however, there is more or less need for precaution due to the nature of the materials, and we therefore recommend that the Society employ experts who shall be informed of its desire to afford exceptional protection to all its possessions, and who shall be asked to inspect and report upon the general security of the building against fire and in particular upon the electric wiring, the need of fire-proof doors, especially to the upper stacks; and the relation

of the air ducts of the various rooms to the heating apparatus and bindery in the basement. We further recommend inquiry whether some automatic system of protection by means of water pipes and sprinklers in the basement would not be a desirable precaution, in addition to the hand fire-extinguishers recommended by the Committee of last year. As a further precaution, we recommend that, as rapidly as is consistent with effectiveness and reasonable economy, manuscripts and other documents of particular importance be bound and located in the upper stack.

The observations of the Committee of former years on the overcrowded condition of the Cabinet seem to be just. At some time in the near future the problem of space presented by the growth of these valuable collections will need the particular attention of the Council. We endorse the suggestion that there should be a Curator of Coins, under the general supervision of the Cabinet-Keeper. The collections of the Society seem to warrant some official provision of this nature.

Our predecessors last year pointed out that there was a lack in the Library of those scholarly periodicals, modern works of reference, and publications of historical societies and foreign governments most essential to the investigators who desire to make productive use of the manuscripts and documents of this Society. We find that this defect in the working apparatus of the Library still exists. The Society suffers somewhat when compared in these respects, and in respect to the facilities afforded for convenient and easy use of the Library, with some of the more youthful historical societies in other states. Your Committee is of the opinion that the age and distinguished services of the Massachusetts Historical Society entitle it to exhibit continued and energetic leadership in the employment of all useful modern devices and library methods for promoting the security of its collections and the effective and convenient use of them. We therefore recommend that the report of last year be given renewed consideration.

FREDERICK J. TURNER,	} <i>Committee.</i>
HENRY M. LOVERING,	
GARDNER W. ALLEN,	

Governor LONG, for the Committee to nominate Officers for the ensuing year made a report, upon which a ballot was taken. The officers are as follows:

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Vice-Presidents.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

JAMES FORD RHODES.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.

WALDO LINCOLN.

WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE.

FREDERIC WINTHROP.

MOORFIELD STOREY.

ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. STOREY, who read the following:

By the death of Francis Cabot Lowell, Massachusetts has lost a citizen of unusual distinction. Sprung from a family which has long been conspicuous for eminent public service rendered in many fields and has been distinguished alike in the pulpit, on the bench, in the army, in education, in literature, in politics and in business, he felt the inspiration of its traditions, and in his turn did his full duty to the State. He was active in such varied ways that his death leaves not one but many vacancies, each hard to fill, and in the record of his life there is no page which we would wish to erase.

He was born on January 7, 1855, and died on March 6, 1911, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Educated in private schools, he went to Harvard College, entering the Sophomore class in 1873. He carried with him a natural refinement, increased by his education, which gave him a place of his own among his classmates. He had no sympathy with the rougher side of college life, no appreciation of what men found delightful in its coarser amusements, but his frank and straightforward manliness were thoroughly appreciated, and he commanded universal respect and warm regard.

He graduated in 1876 with honors in history and after a year spent in European travel entered the Law School, where he remained two years. After a year in an office he became the private secretary of Horace Gray, then the Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and this experience gave him a glimpse of judicial life which may well have fostered in him an ambition for the bench. When he resigned this place he began the practice of the law in partnership with his cousin, now the President of Harvard College, and his classmate Frederic J. Stimson.

As a member of this firm he was employed in very important matters, but not such as attracted public attention, and while he showed himself a sound lawyer and was held in high esteem by his clients, he did not during his years of practice acquire a conspicuous position at the Bar. He presented a question of law to the Court clearly and well, and was a wise adviser, but he had no taste for the work of a jury lawyer, though had he been

drawn into this branch of professional labor he would undoubtedly have won the respect and confidence of jurymen, as he did of all men with whom he was brought in contact.

He took a strong interest in politics, and in 1889 was elected a member of the City Council. Six years later he was chosen to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, where he served for three years and won the position of a leader. Had he continued to follow this career he would unquestionably have been called to high office, but his appointment to the bench of the United States District Court terminated his political activity. In the Council and in the Legislature he enjoyed an ascendancy derived from his character, his transparent honesty, his public spirit and his singleness of purpose. He respected his colleagues, and in return they respected him, and if in some cases his confidence in the rectitude of his associates was greater than they deserved, the reason is to be found in the remark of one that no man would have dared to approach Lowell with any dishonest suggestion. He radiated an atmosphere which protected him against baseness. Men showed him their best side, and he lived therefore in a purer air than most of us breathe, so largely does every man create his own world.

He early entered the service of Harvard College, as an Overseer from 1886 to 1895, and as a Fellow of the Corporation from 1895 until his death. He was an active member of both boards, and did his Alma Mater good service in both. As an Overseer he joined in a report which, if adopted, would have done much to end the abuses of college athletics, and perhaps might have helped to rekindle the love of learning in breasts where it is now almost extinct. As a Fellow he was ever useful in the councils of the Board and always an influence for good. It seemed to his friends as his strength waned that he gave too much to other than his judicial labors, but his devotion to the college forbade him to spare himself and he was untiring to the end.

He was interested in historical research, and his monograph on Joan of Arc was a careful and a novel discussion of her career and her condemnation. In the year 1896 he delivered an oration before the Historical Society of Beverly and he wrote various articles for magazines. As a member of this Society he prepared the memoir of Francis A. Walker and paid a tribute to

Governor Wolcott, but his duties as a judge left him little time to indulge his taste for literary labor.

He was appointed United States District Judge for the District of Massachusetts by President McKinley in 1898, and was made Circuit Judge for the First Circuit in 1905, an office which he held until his death. It was on the bench that he won his greatest distinction. He brought to the discharge of its duties a high moral sense, a love of justice, an adequate knowledge of law, a courtesy which never failed, a great capacity for work and untiring devotion to duty. He was the New England conscience in its highest embodiment without the manner which like the burr of the chestnut sometimes needlessly wounds him who encounters it.

He was not a great lawyer, and perhaps had no controlling native aptitude for the profession which he chose, but he was a model judge. He presided at a trial with courtesy and firmness in due proportion, and was able to prevent the constant bickering between counsel which too often wastes time, tries tempers and interferes with the administration of justice. Every man's rights were scrupulously protected by him, and his presence on the bench, as elsewhere, purified the atmosphere of the court room. His promotion to the Circuit Bench in 1905 was well deserved, and every succeeding year made him a more valuable magistrate. His published opinions number more than three hundred, and with four or five exceptions his judgments were sustained by the Court of Appeals. He dealt with questions of great variety and his contributions to the law were important and enduring. His untimely death at the maturity of his powers is a calamity deplored alike by his associates on the Bench, by all members of the Bar who ever practised before him and by the community which trusted and leaned upon him.

A gentleman in the best sense of the word, brave, frank, pure and courteous, an able judge, a public-spirited and most useful citizen, a supporter of all that is good in our State and a foe of all that is evil, his great power lay in his character, which every man recognized and could not help respecting. He drew out what was good in men and repressed what was bad wherever he was, and no man in our time has proved more completely the truth of Charles Sumner's words "Remember, young man, that character is everything."

Mr. WEEDEN read a paper upon

WILLIAM CODDINGTON.

William Coddington was one of the remarkable men of New England in the mid-seventeenth century. Born in Boston, England, he landed at Salem in 1630, being one of the original Assistants or Magistrates under the charter of Massachusetts Bay. Before the settlement of Boston was named, he built the first brick dwelling-house there, and afterward was elected treasurer of the corporation. He might have become a powerful citizen under Winthrop, had he not been involved in the Hutchinson controversy, as we shall perceive.

December 14, 1634, a committee was sent out across Neponset to "assign lands for William Coddington and Edmund Quincy to have for their particular farms there." A portion of these lands in Quincy or Braintree was afterward known as the "Coddington School Lands." The tradition ran that the tract was a gift from Coddington. In a careful study published in the *Quincy Patriot*, September 12, 1891, Mr. Charles Francis Adams exploded this legend, showing that the title was obtained by purchase.

In 1636 Pastor Wilson in the words of Winthrop delivered a "very sad speech" arraigning Mrs. Hutchinson and arousing public opinion against her heresies, as he considered them. Vane and Cotton opposed him, and Coddington was of their party. Boston was at first in favor of Anne's doctrines, and chose for representatives from the freemen to the General Court, in 1637, Vane and Hough with Coddington. The Court attempted to reject them on a technical pretence, but the freemen insisted at a new election and compelled the Court to receive them. Points of etiquette as well as of doctrine convulsed the sensitive community. Vane was wont to occupy a seat of honor with the magistrates at service on the Sabbath, but he now went with Coddington to sit with the deacons, much to Winthrop's annoyance.

Coddington, Aspinwall and Coggeshall were sent from Boston to the new Court, which had a meeting November 2. Coddington was an honored official, classed in the public estimation with Winthrop and Endecott as one of the founders of

the colony. Yet the Court expelled him because he had signed a petition with some sixty remonstrants of Boston in favor of Wheelwright. Although Winthrop was friendly to Coddington, he took ground against him, when he asked to be heard as the Court was proceeding to judgment against Mrs. Hutchinson. Coddington persisted in words which are good for all time:

I beseech you do not speak so to force things along; for I do not for my own part see any equity in the Court in all your proceedings. Here is no law of God that she hath broken; nor any law of the country that she hath broken. Therefore she deserves no censure. Be it granted that Mrs. Hutchinson did say the elders preach as the apostles did, — why, they preached a Covenant of Grace. What wrong then is that to the elders? It is without question that the apostles did preach a Covenant of Grace before the Ascension, though not with that power they did after they received the manifestation of the spirit. Therefore, I pray consider what you do, for here is no law of God or man broken.¹

Coddington was not “convented” or banished positively, like Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson, but he was a citizen used to respect and worthy of it. He was shunned in such manner as to make him uncomfortable. He was on fair terms with Winthrop considering the condition of affairs. Later on, in 1640, he wrote a conciliatory letter to him. He approved “of a speech of one of note amongst you, that we were in a heate and chafed, and were all of us to blame; in our strife we had forgotten that we were brethren.”²

In 1638 nineteen persons migrated from Boston to Rhode Island. After consulting with Roger Williams and the settlers at Providence, they chose Pocasset on the island, and the name was afterward changed to Portsmouth. Twelve of these emigrants were of the Boston church, and more than half of the magistrates from the town were included. This tale shows how deeply the Antinomian controversy had affected the community. Though submerged by the party of radicals, Coddington was a natural conservative.

Coddington with his migrating companions assisted by Roger Williams obtained from Canonicus and Miantanomoh, chiefs of the Narragansett tribes of Indians, a deed of the islands

¹ Adams, *Three Episodes*, I. 506.

² 4 *Collections*, VI. 314, 317.

Aquidneck and Conanicut lying at the mouth of the bay. They settled on the north shore of Aquidneck at Pocasset, and Coddington was elected "Judge." The "Inhabitants or Freemen were to be received by common consent of the Body." January 2, 1639, three "Elders" were associated with the Judge to assist in the "execution of justice and judgment." Here was an autocratic judge, a division of authority between judge and assistants; and finally a veto of the freemen, which might be exercised four times a year. This government was constituted much like a sanhedrim, the supreme council and highest tribunal of the Jewish nation. Moses selected the original examples of these magistrates.

Neither party of the Pocasset and Portsmouth settlers was content with this attempted constitution of a government. It was designed to control the Antinomian element, strongly democratic and popular as it was. The Plantation at Providence tended in the same direction, laboring with many vagaries hardly practicable even in experimental government. Property in this world did not encumber these idealists, whose visions were fascinated by the perfections of a heavenly life.

Coddington's instincts were feudal, especially regarding land, — legal in tone rather than popular, like the Antinomians proper. April 28, 1639, his entire government, judge and three elders, withdrew to Aquidneck, signing a compact for a settlement. Between May 1 and 16 the party exploring and led by Nicholas Easton landed at Coasters' Harbor, where the United States Naval College is now established, and built shelter-huts there. May 16 the first town-meeting was held and the name Newport was chosen, though in the early times Rhode Island was more generally used. November 25, 1639, the plantation acknowledged that they were "natural subjects to King Charles their Sovereign Lord and subject to his laws." Debts were formally subjected to the courts. March 12, 1639-40, representatives from Pocasset, now Portsmouth and Newport, joined, electing William Coddington Governor. A deputy governor and four assistants were added, and they were all justices of the peace. The second General Court for the island, in 1641, declared itself "a Democracie or Popular Government."¹ An

¹ H. C. Dorr sagaciously remarks: "they meant by Democracy an equality of political rights only among the members of the free or ruling classes." R. I. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, New Ser., III. 220.

important record stated "the law of the last Courte made concerning Libertie of Conscience in point of Doctrine is perpetuated."¹ This indicates that Coddington's autocratic shell had been pierced or weakened by the larger popular spirit which affected Rhode Island and all the Providence Plantations.

The Massachusetts Bay had not forgotten their vagrant children, and, February 28, 1640, sent a committee of three from the Boston church, characterized by Rev. Thomas Weld as "of a lovely and winning spirit," to look up Portsmouth and Aquidneck. They carried an iron glove beneath the velvet touch, for according to Winthrop they were to call the churches to account for communicating with excommunicated persons. Aquidneck would not receive the committee, claiming that one Congregational church had no power over another.

Lechford, the lawyer of Boston, visited the island about this time and reported a population of some two hundred families at Newport. Probably his estimate was too large. Robert Lenthall was admitted a freeman and "called to keep a public school for the learning of youth." This was a well-administered school and one of the first in America — far in advance of education in Providence. There occurred a schism in the church at Newport, which leaned toward the seventh-day Baptist persuasion under the lead of John Clarke. Very likely this was the beginning of Coddington's conversion to Quakerism.

Samuel Gorton was at Portsmouth before he settled at Shawomet or Warwick. He² appeared occasionally in the courts at Newport, greatly to the annoyance of Coddington and the conservatives. Of great ability, Gorton was a mystic and profound theologian, far beyond Coddington or even Roger Williams in comprehension of popular and representative government. Gorton and his friends were in the minority and soon migrated to Shawomet.

Coddington was a good judge and administrator of law, a sound merchant; but he could not administer the government of a community or state. In 1642 he began to coquet with the Dutch at Manhattan for political support.³ Winthrop⁴ in

¹ R. I. Col. Rec., I. 112, 113, 118.

² Gorton, *Life and Times of Samuel Gorton*, records the controversies between Coddington and Gorton with full references to the authorities.

³ R. I. Col. Rec., I. 126.

⁴ *Journal*, II. 211.

1644 noted that it would be great inconvenience to England, if they [of Rhode Island] be forced to seek protection from the Dutch. Coddington did not leave his former adversary unmolested at Shawomet. The Bay was persecuting him, and Coddington wrote Winthrop, August 5, 1644, "Gorton shall not be by me protected."

The worst disavowal of his own principles was when Coddington applied in August or September, 1644, and at another time to Plymouth, to be admitted to the Confederation of the New England Colonies, an immense decline from his sublime sacrifice for liberty of conscience under the lead of Anne Hutchinson, when he braved the whole power of the Puritan theocracy.

January 29, 1648-49, he sailed to England to procure a separate charter for Rhode Island or Newport. Doctor Turner shows by citations from Coddington's letters to Winthrop (*R. I. Tracts*, No. 4, 55-57) that he was moved by the interest of Massachusetts Bay in the persecution of Gorton at Shawomet to oppose the action of Newport under the first charter and to keep from the union of Providence Plantations with Rhode Island as it was finally affected. About this time he built his house, which stood until 1835, an example of the better sort of dwellings in New England, — two stories, the first overhung, while a solid stone chimney, partially covered, blocked one end. The roof was shingled and the sides clapboarded. It must have been substantially convenient or it would not have endured so long. His farm was a magnificent estate of some seven hundred and fifty acres, stocked with cattle and sheep. He gave much attention to the introduction and breeding of fine sheep and probably of cattle.

Governor Coddington's town-house as pictured in Palfrey's history was on the north side of Marlborough Street opposite the end of Duke Street and diagonally across from the old State house. The site of the house was recently occupied by the residence of G. W. Smith.

Coddington used another house in the country, which stood on land of the Newport Hospital on the west of "Lily Pond" on "Rocky Farm." This location was south and east of Thames Street, as it debouches into Carroll Avenue. The residence was probably included in the seven hundred and

fifty acre farm. We may fairly suppose this farm covered a large portion of the present commercial district of Newport.

In addition, the Governor owned a large tract at Coddington's Cove and Point, north of the Naval College. He was engaged in large affairs, and introduced the export of horses to the West Indies.

Coddington's "Usurpation," as it was called and execrated at home, consisted of a commission signed by Bradshaw, April 3, 1651, appointing him Governor for life of Aquidneck, alias Rhode Island, and Quinunnigate Island. The new satrap appeared at home in August, 1651, finding revolt and no obedience. Williams sailed from Boston, November, 1651, for a new charter for the colony. Doubtless Coddington's coquetry with the Manhattan government helped Williams, for he obtained an order vacating the Coddington commission October 2, 1652, and authorizing the colony of Providence Plantations to proceed under the government of the patent of 1644. It was said the Dutch offered soldiers to be employed against the inhabitants of Rhode Island in 1652.¹ The Coddington administration of the plantation was a complete failure.

In 1653 the court of the island demanded that Coddington deliver the statute book and records. He refused, rejoining that he dared not lay down his commission, having received no notice from England of its withdrawal. March 11, 1656, he made an "abdication," so called, appearing at the Court of Trials: "I William Coddington doe freely submit to ye authoritie of his Highness in this Colonie, as it is now united and that with all my heart."² Doctor Turner³ properly says it argues well for the good temper and general good sense of our subject, that in this short period he overcame the strong prejudices prevailing against him on account of the usurpation. Pressure was severe from the neighboring colonies, and the men of Rhode Island did well to settle disputes and combine as far as possible for practicable government.

The Quakers were gaining great political power, and in 1674 they made Coddington the Governor of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. With their usual non-comprehension

¹ *Doc. Hist. New York*, I. 497.

² *R. I. Col. Rec.*, I. 327.

³ *R. I. Historical Tracts*, No. 4, 40. Cf. 43, for abstracts from British State Paper Office.

of the whole duty of a State, these non-resistants left the weak colony in poor preparation for the great Indian warfare of 1675-1676. Wealthy and isolated, Newport and the island did not suffer incursion from the savages. Mr. Richman, in the *Making of Rhode Island*, cites Roger Williams as criticising our subject for inhospitality at Newport toward refugees from Providence. "Doth Mr. Coddington think to be so high a saint . . . and yet in men's account loves the world exceedingly?"¹

This should not be construed too literally or exactly in considering the relative characters of Williams and Coddington. The best parts of the one were directly opposed to the better constituents of the other. Coddington believed in a severely tangible structure regulated by law and justice. Williams, reaching out for spiritual things beyond the scope of previous governments, relied on his individual soul to do right and wisely. The two differing men could not coalesce in any imperfect system of government practicable in the seventeenth century.

Certainly Coddington's fellow citizens soon forgave his errors and gave him their confidence in the administration of affairs. His portrait hangs in the council chamber at Newport — a memorial from a grateful people. In discussing the history of his appeal to England and vagaries of "usurpation," we must not forget the immense obligation to him, first of the local community and finally of the whole colony of Rhode Island, for forging out the structure of legal society. It is not easy to make a government, especially when that government is moving on lines new and untried, as the men explore new fields.

Chief Justice Thomas Durfee² remarks that in less than three years in the beginning of the island plantations, these common Anglo-Saxon freemen advanced from a town meeting to "a well organized judiciary," excellently suited to their wants and fully equipped for the dispensation of justice according to the methods and principles of the common law. The code has a homogeneity, as if, how many soever may have contributed to it, some one master mind had given it form and character. "If it was Coddington's, then to Coddington," whatever his subsequent demerit, belongs the unforfeitable credit of it. We may observe that John Clarke was the only

¹ R. I. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1875-1876.

² *Judicial History of R. I.*, 6, 7.

other man among the planters who had sufficient ability for such an undertaking. His education was that of a physician, while his tastes and final calling carried him into the ministry.

This system of justice and judicial organization lasted with little change for some two centuries. It was adopted substantially by Providence Plantations. We can hardly comprehend how Rhode Island and Roger Williams' party could have endured and become a State capable of endurance without this legal structure or something like it. Williams and his nearest friends while marvellous in estimating and trusting the capacity of the individual soul in meeting the main responsibility of life, — in the power of religion in brief, — had no conception of the action of law and government in the common necessities of daily living.

Coddington died in 1678, or about the time when the founders of these colonies were departing life and their civilization was becoming fairly settled. Every one studying the records has regarded him as possessing a strong intellect, excepting Doctor Palfrey. The doctor was not judicial in estimating either Antinomians or Quakers. He said of our subject:

Whether it was owing most to want of balance and want of force in his mind and character, or to the perversity of those whom he had undertaken to improve, profit, and govern, his hold on their confidence had not proved lasting. Happily for his peace of mind, from Antinomian he had turned Quaker; and the visions and controversies of his sect provided him with resources for enjoyment in his declining years.¹

In our day this may be called a chromatic scale of dissolving views.

We may admit that his character lacked balance and could not carry through common life the power of his intellectual conceptions. Many men can conceive propositions, who cannot stand up against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, in meeting the ills of conduct and government. Let us turn to the wise comment of a true Rhode Islander, whose philosophic

¹ Palfrey, *New England* (ed. 1882), III. 444. A little-known tract against the persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts was written by Coddington and printed in London in 1674. It has for a title: *A Demonstration of True Love unto you the Rulers of the Colony of the Massachusetts*, etc.

survey took in the whole world and was not limited like the ideals of Puritan enthusiasts. "He had in him a little too much of the future for Massachusetts, and a little too much of the past for Rhode Island, as she then was." This better renders the curious inconsistency of the then times, which only derive importance from their incipient future and are not necessary models for all time.

Doctor Turner, writing in 1878,¹ while commenting very severely upon Coddington for his course in the "Usurpation," treats his character very reasonably. The qualities of mind come out as he depicts his career.

The faults of Coddington seem to me, those growing out of a weakness of character, rather than of wrong intent. He grew up probably in a position of wealth and importance under a strong government, and imbibed those sentiments of respect for authority which are natural to his class. He came to Massachusetts already alleged as an important member of the Council of Government, and so remained until his last year in Massachusetts, and, as he undoubtedly expected, was immediately acknowledged as the leading member of the settlement at Rhode Island. As the recognized head of that community, then in perfect accord with common objects and common interests, with no particular reason to anticipate differences which eventually arose, he very naturally looked at the very republican form of the institution they adopted, himself being the leading spirit, through a rose colored medium. But when the selfishness of human nature had had time to mature its never failing crop of differences and animosities, and his own superior consequence and influence began to decline, he began, as most men do, to lose his faith in the capacity of men to govern themselves, and could see no way to secure the young settlement from destruction, but the restoration of his own authority, under a form which should make it independent of the caprice of the people. Almost any man would be in favor of monarchy if he could be king.

The best recognition history can give Coddington is to emphasize the new confidence awarded him by his fellow pioneers, after he recanted the errors of his "usurpation." This proves the essential integrity of the man, though the ruler and governor had been found wanting. Over and beyond the lesser details of his career, stands the stability of the

¹ R. I. *Historical Tracts*, No. 4, 49.

colony and State of Rhode Island. The outcast community of Providence Plantations, possessing only soul-liberty, — a new and non-effective political doctrine then, — built itself up on the rock of Coddington's law and justice. A State maintaining the freedom of the soul then, has come to be one of the world's monuments now.

Governor LONG read a paper upon

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

Col. W. R. Livermore's paper descriptive of the first day at the battle of Gettysburg is so instructive that it is to be hoped that he will give us also the second and third days. Military campaigns and battles are a prolific source of differences of view and opinion, which are as many as there are critics. Our President, Mr. Adams, has in his recent paper renewed the emphasis of the caution with which we should form an estimate of Washington as a commander of an army, and his paper has to some extent suggested this one of mine. Equal caution is needed when we consider General Grant or General Lee or any other captain.

General Lee is the foremost figure on the Southern side of our great Civil War. He seems to me to be, more than any other American, like Washington in character and quality. Had the South succeeded, he too would have been a Father of his country. Neither of these men was a great genius; each was a great good man, using that term as defining excellence of character and quality. But that Lee is to be reckoned among the greatest military commanders, as is sometimes claimed for him, seems to me to be a mistaken estimate. I say "seems to me," remembering that I know nothing of military science, and am among the least qualified to pass judgment in that respect. Yet I am one of the overwhelming majority of the uninformed mass who have to make up our minds for ourselves as best we can.

There is no question of Lee's commanding ability, his masterful movements, his brilliant successes against odds. But as Washington made mistakes, as Grant made mistakes, as General Sherman, if I remember rightly, made few mistakes [here Mr. Adams, our President, interrupts me to say that General Sher-

man made many mistakes but never repeated them, to which I reply that a man who never repeats a mistake may be said never to make one], so General Lee made mistakes and at Gettysburg so blundered that he there gave a death blow to the Southern Confederacy and made it a lost cause.

His campaign in West Virginia at the beginning of the war was anything but successful or promising. In the Peninsular campaign in 1862 he once or twice so rashly divided and weakened his lines that only the fighting incompetency and utter lack of initiative on the part of McClellan saved the Confederate army from disaster and Richmond from falling. His assault on Malvern was either ill-judged or ill-directed, and was disastrous. At Fredericksburg Lee was chargeable with the same inertness which our President, Mr. Adams, justly charges upon General Howe in letting Washington after the battle transport his troops across the East River to New York — Lee permitting the federals to cross back over the Rappahannock when he had their rear at his mercy. At Chancellorsville he again divided his army and exposed its wings to successive annihilation by our overwhelming numbers, had Hooker had all his reins in his hands and been capable of driving his big team — a wretched condition on which Lee could not have counted. That he won the battle is not so much due to generalship or an evidence of it, as it is due to luck in the incapacity of the “other feller” and in the lack of the most ordinary vigilance on the part of some of the “other feller’s” corps and division commanders, — of all which Lee had, however, at that time no proof.

The safety of the Southern Confederacy was in its army’s remaining on the defensive. There Lee had found himself invulnerable for a long time. When he crossed into Maryland in 1862 and again in 1863, he made the mistake that Mr. Adams suggests that Washington made in advancing to the Brandywine, and thereby turned what had till then been the certainty of defence into the risk and failure of attack.

At Gettysburg is it too much to say that Lee lost his head, which a captain of the first rank does not do? Successful on the first day, he was at sea on the second. Leaving Longstreet to press the attack on the right, he failed to move Ewell to Longstreet’s support with the great corps which Ewell commanded

on the left. That corps remained practically inactive all day long, whereas, if so moved, it would very likely have insured the success of the Confederate attack. It may be the mark of a kind heart, but it is not the mark of a great military commander, that, rather than hurt the sensitive feelings of his subordinates, Lee refrained from giving them a positive order and preferred to suggest to them his opinion. It reminds me of Mr. Alfred C. Hersey, of Hingham, whom perhaps our President, Mr. Adams, remembers, and who, commanding a militia company on the march in the old days and coming to a sharp turn in the road, instead of martially ordering "Right wheel, march," said, pointing with extended hand, "This way, gentlemen, this way, if you please."

On the third day at Gettysburg the charge of Pickett which Lee ordered was simply madness. His own subordinates knew it was a blunder. Think of the flower of his army, its very right arm, a long exposed column parading the length of an open valley-field, marching for nearly a mile to certain destruction and practically defenceless under the direct blasting fire of shot and shell from our batteries. It was like a lamb led to slaughter! It melted like snow under a mid-day sun. If there had been any hope at all of success, it was so faint from any point of view that the risk was simply overwhelming and unpardonable, and was such that no great or little military commander should have thought of taking it. Lee's failure at Gettysburg becomes pathetic, viewed from the standpoint of him personally. He was of course a great soldier, but, as our President, Mr. Adams, finds in the case of Washington, is there not room for modifying the popular and conventional estimate of him in that respect? Grant added little to his military fame after taking command in Virginia in 1864, but I find nothing in Lee's campaigns that will compare with the swift campaign of Grant from Vicksburg through the heart of Mississippi, capturing Jackson, its capital, fighting a battle every day, striking and smashing the Confederate forces like a thunderbolt, perfect in his celerity of movement and accuracy of combinations — a campaign as brilliant as any one of Napoleon's.

However the foregoing are only the reflections of an inexperienced who distrusts his own impressions and seeks illumination. In that spirit I wish somebody would write a history of the blunders

in military campaigns, of the drunkenness and jealousies and downright stupidity in many officers of various rank from the head down, which have wasted blood and treasure and lost victories. I wish that he would show in how many cases the mere element of luck and chance has turned the scale and given a commanding general the praise or blame which he neither deserved nor earned, and that he would discriminate between what is due to the commander who always gets all the popular glory or blame and what is due to his subordinates who have often quite as much deserved it. There is nothing blinder than a great battle, the whole or even a great part of which no one individual in it ever saw or comprehended in its kaleidoscopic progress; and there are few things less conclusive and satisfactory than the attempts at its exact reproduction even by the honestest critics. It is easy enough for them to tell how the thing ought to have been done, but it is exceedingly doubtful whether they would have done it any better or even as well. Probably not.

Col. WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE made the following presentation:

It is always of interest to our Society to know that its writings have helped to make history as well as to record it.

On the stated meeting on the 10th of July, 1862,¹ my father, Mr. George Livermore, read before the Society the substance of a work of over 200 pages, entitled *An Historical Research respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens and as Soldiers*.

Of this work Mr. Winthrop, then President of the Society, said that it alone would have been "enough to secure for him a reputation which any of us might envy."

Mr. Deane says in the Memoirs of Mr. Livermore:

"Among the agencies which swayed the public mind at that time," says a distinguished civilian, "this publication cannot be forgotten." Attorney-General Bates acknowledged his obligation to it in making up his opinions on the status of the negro; and "it is within my own knowledge," says Senator Sumner, "that it interested President Lincoln much. The President expressed a desire to consult it while

¹ *Proceedings*, vi. 78. The paper was printed in the minutes of the August meeting, to be found in the same volume, pp. 86-248.

he was preparing the final Proclamation of Emancipation; and as his own copy was mislaid, he requested me to send him mine, which I did."

This work was issued in five different editions in a most luxurious style. . . .

A pamphlet of eight pages of extracts from it was published soon after, in Philadelphia, by Henry C. Baird, entitled *George Washington and General Jackson on Negro Soldiers*, of which over 100,000 copies were printed.¹

It may be of interest to read Sumner's letter and a few extracts from the newspapers referring to the book and to Lincoln's acknowledgment of its services.

WASHINGTON, Xmas Day [Dec. 25, 1862].

DEAR LIVERMORE, — Last evening the President referred to your book — said that his copy was mislaid, and that he wished to consult it now. I told him at once that he should have my copy, and I have accordingly sent it to him this Xmas morning.

Now I rely upon your goodness to replace what I have given up.

Dr. Lieber, who is here, is anxious that a cheap edition should be printed with a good index.

The President is occupied on the Proclamation. He will stand firm. He said to me that it was hard to drive him from a position which he had once taken. Ever yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

WASHINGTON, 28th Dec., '62.

MY DEAR LIVERMORE, — On my return from a protracted interview with the President about the Proclamation, I found your note, which I have enclosed to him with the expression of a hope that he will be able to gratify you, at least in part.

The President says he would not stop the Proclamation if he could, and he could not if he would.

Good bye! Hallelujah! Ever yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

Sumner asked Lincoln to take note of the pen he used on that occasion and to reserve it for his friend in whose work on colored persons and their rights he had been interested. This the President did and Livermore duly acknowledged.

¹ *Proceedings*, x. 464.

Senate Chamber, 9th Jan., '63.

MY DEAR LIVERMORE, — I read to the President your letter on the pen, and then handed it to him. He said he would accept it as your answer, so that you need not trouble yourself to write again.

The Proclamation was not signed till after three hours of hand-shaking on New Year's day, when the President found that his hand trembled so that he held the pen with difficulty. The enemy would say, — naturally enough, in signing such a document. But it is done, and the act will be firm throughout time.

The last sentence was actually framed by Chase, although I believe that I first suggested it both to him and to the President. I urged that he should close with "something about *justice* and *God*." Those words must be introduced. The sentence which I suggested — without, however, writing it down — was this: "In proclaiming freedom to the slaves, which I now do, as an act of military necessity, for the sake of the Constitution and the Union, I am encouraged by the conviction that it is also an act of justice to an oppressed race, which must draw down upon our country the favor of a beneficent God."

I then added, as I was leaving him, that there must be something about "justice" and "God." Ever yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

The announcement of Emancipation in September ended with the promise in due time to recommend that all citizens who should have remained loyal to the Union throughout the rebellion should be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.¹

The final proclamation, as we remember, ended with the clause:

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.²

The comments of the press have now some historical value. A few were preserved by Mr. Livermore and kept in this box. The first is an editorial from the *N. Y. Tribune*.

¹ *Messages and Documents of the Presidents*, vi. 98.

² *Ib.* 159.

THE GREAT PROCLAMATION.

The Rubicon is passed, the proclamation is issued, and hereafter the rebellion and slavery become so far identical as to live or fall together. A few pro-slavery papers are making light of it, but Jeff Davis knows better than to sneer at it, as his brutal retaliatory proclamation testifies. We see it stated that the pen with which President Lincoln signed the document has been intrusted to Charles Sumner, to be given to George Livermore of Cambridge. The proclamation has been honored with public and congratulatory gatherings and celebrations in a good many places, and in some instances the bells were rung. A jubilee concert was held at the Music Hall in Boston, and three large meetings were held at Tremont Temple on Thursday. The reception of the proclamation at the latter, in the evening, created great enthusiasm. At Gov. Andrew's order one hundred guns were fired on Boston Common on Saturday. At Norfolk, Va., the negroes turned out in a procession 4000 strong, and there was considerable excitement, but no riotous demonstrations. The limits to which the proclamation is assigned (see first column in this paper) include, according to the last census, 3,123,199 slaves, about three-fourths of the entire slave population of the country, and a larger number of people than the entire country contained in the revolutionary war. Some anxiety has been felt as to the effect of the proclamation in the border states, especially Kentucky. Of course a large portion of the people there do not approve it, and quite probably it may strengthen the rebel cause, but that state is too fully committed to the Union to be carried over to the rebels, even nominally, at this late day. As to the real and final effect of the proclamation no one is perhaps wise enough to tell with much certainty. It should be remembered that as a legal document it can never be revoked, it being impossible by any law passed by the United States to make the slaves thus freed bondmen again. No Christian man, it seems to us, can review the events which have led to this result without seeing in them the hand of Providence as a controlling power.

Another is an editorial paragraph from the *Tribune* of January 16, 1863, concerning the pen itself:

Senator Sumner read to the President on Tuesday night an eloquent letter from Mr. George Livermore of Boston, acknowledging the receipt of the steel pen, with an ink-spattered, broken, wooden handle, with which the President signed the New Year's Proclamation. Mr. Livermore's claim to its possession is founded upon his

"historical research" as to the opinions of the founders of the Republic respecting negroes as slaves, citizens and soldiers, a copy of which was presented to the President while he was engaged in writing the Proclamation. This paper, read before the Historical Society of Boston [Massachusetts Historical Society] and printed for private distribution, should — particularly the second part, which deals with the negro as a soldier — have a wider circulation. It would go far to dispel the prejudice against enabling the black man to assist in saving the country.

An Historical Research Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens and as Soldiers, by George Livermore, pp. 215 (Boston: John Wilson & Son), is the most important work which has ever been published in this country upon the subject of slavery. It is the Scriptures of American Freedom. President Lincoln gave an appropriate expression of his sense of the value of Mr. Livermore's labors by giving him the pen with which he signed the Proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863. We hope that a cheap, popular edition of this candid and accurate work will be issued and circulated throughout the country. We know of no better antidote to the insane prejudices which possess many minds at the present time than the calm, reflective and humane sentiments of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Franklin, Gadsden, Laurens, Marshall, Sherman, Martin, Morris and a countless host of other patriots of the Golden Age of the Republic. It would greatly add to the value of the book, as a work of reference, if it were provided with a very full index.¹

But all the notices were not equally laudatory.

To show the feeling at this time, Mr. Livermore preserved one which is hard to understand, and which may at least in part have been inspired by a sympathizer with the rebellion.

A PARODY.

For the Sun.

This is the Proclamation that Abe writ.

This is the Pen that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

This is the Goose that shed the quill, that formed the pen, that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

This is the Nigger made free-born, that tossed the Goose, that shed the quill, that formed the pen, that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

¹ Also from the *Tribune*, but of unknown date. It contains the very suggestions made by Dr. Lieber, then a contributor to that journal.

This is the Sumner of abolition form, that was cuss-toad-i-on at Washington, that embraced the Nigger made free-born, that tossed the Goose, that shed the quill, that formed the pen, that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

This is the Livermore all forlorn, that received the treasure of the cuss-toad-i-on, that blesses the Sumner of abolitiondom, that embraces the Nigger made free-born, that tossed the Goose that shed the quill, that formed the pen, that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

These are the Abolitionists all shaven and shorn, that nullify the laws of our Constitution, that adore the Liver-more all forlorn, that treasured the memento of abolitiondom, that was intrusted to the Sumner cuss-toad-i-on, that embraces the Nigger made free-born, that tossed the Goose, that shed the quill, that formed the pen, that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

This is the Party that crowed in the morn, that hugged Abolition all shaven and shorn, that nullified the laws of our Constitution, that adored the Liver-more all forlorn, that treasured the memento of Abolitiondom, that was intrusted to the Sumner cuss-toad-i-on, who embraced the Nigger made free-born, who tossed the Goose, that shed the quill, that formed the pen, that signed the Proclamation that Abe writ.

The following letter of Mrs. William Endicott, Jr., is necessary to understand the last letter from Sumner:

TO GEORGE LIVERMORE.

DEAR SIR, — I write at the suggestion of Mr. Sumner and in behalf of the ladies connected with the "Sanitary Fair." We have arranged as one source of profit for an exhibition, in small rooms opening from the Music Hall and entirely distinct from the Fair itself, of rare articles interesting from their antiquity, beauty or association. Mr. Sumner has kindly loaned us his valuable literary treasures, and has suggested that you have some things that would be valuable for our purpose, among other things, the pen with which the Proclamation was signed. We shall put all such articles under lock and key, in glass cases, and promise all the watchful care that is possible. We shall feel exceedingly obliged if you will lend us anything that you have that you think would have interest for the Exhibition, and take the liberty of requesting an early reply, as the Fair opens on Monday eve. We have *books* enough, having Mr. Sumner's missals, and Mr. Waterston is preparing us a case, in chro-

nological series, beginning with his monastic book with chain. He is also preparing us one case of autographs. We more particularly desire articles other than books and documents.

For the committee.

10 Mt. Vernon St.
Dec. 10th [1863].

MRS. WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.

WASHINGTON, 27th Dec., '63.

MY DEAR LIVERMORE, — I wish that the pen which signed the Proclamation could have been at the Fair — in all its simplicity, That it is the *true pen* there can be no doubt.

Some time before the signature of the Proclamation, I asked the President to take note of the pen he used on that occasion and to reserve it for a friend of mine in whose recent work on colored persons and their rights he had been interested. This he promised to do. On the night of the Proclamation, or the day after, I was with him, and promptly inquired after the important pen. He took it out of a drawer where he had carefully laid it away, and handed it to me — saying, "This is the pen." That pen I forwarded to you.

The story that he did not know the pen he used probably arose from an incident with reference to another pen. I had asked for the pen with which he signed Emancipation in the National Capital, when he said — taking up a handful of steel pens on his table: — "It was one of these; which will you take? You are welcome to all." He had not taken note of the pen he used. It was to prevent any such confusion that I bespoke the Proclamation pen in advance.

As to the photograph, I beg you to understand that neither half of "the picture" had anything to do with naming it. I hope, however, you will see one of the large pictures. Hooper tells me he has sent one to our Union Club.

I wish you a happy New Year. God bless you! Ever yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

The pen ought to have been at the Fair. Everybody would have looked at it.

Any one who knew Mr. Livermore will remember that he was not fond of notoriety.

During the war my father's health was very poor, and in the excitement over the assassination of Lincoln he died. Nearly half a century has passed.

The reasons that deterred him from exhibiting the pen at the Sanitary Fair in 1863 would not apply to its now receiving a place in our Cabinet. As his memory is still cherished by some

who are still with us, I shall esteem it a privilege to present the pen with the letters and other documents to the Society in which the publication originated.

The EDITOR adds letters bearing upon this pen, which were found in other collections.

The following letter is taken from the Sumner MSS. in the library of Harvard University:

LIVERMORE TO SUMNER.

BOSTON, Monday, December 29th, '62.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — Thanks for your Christmas note. I feel very happy to know that the President was to look over my "Research," and I felt truly happy by the assurance that on the coming New Years day the Proclamation will be issued which is to give character and success to our war. God bless Abraham Lincoln! will be shouted by the lips and rise from the hearts of millions of the best citizens of our land, for that act. I telegraphed you to-day, "If you approve, procure at my expense a gold pen for the signature of the important document, fit for perpetual preservation." I am curious to know whether the message reaches you promptly and correctly.¹ I do desire that that should come to Massachusetts, and that I may have the custody of it for the present. If it can fairly and properly be had for me I know you will obtain it. If you send a pen to be used let me know the cost, and if you secure the treasure, please get a little box from a jeweller to put it in and send by express. I would not trust it by mail.

I have sent a bound copy of my Research for you in a parcel to J. B. Russell, clerk at the Pension Bureau office. I have put in the same parcel a copy for the Library of Congress, and one for Dr. Lieber. I will forward two or three extra copies before they are all gone to be distributed at your discretion.

I am preparing three large flags to be displayed from my house as soon as I get news that the Proclamation is signed and issued. God bless Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner. Your affectionate friend,

GEO. LIVERMORE.

SUMNER TO LINCOLN.²

BOSTON, 8th November, '62.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you Mr. Livermore's Memoir on the employment of slaves and Africans during our Revolution, and call

¹ The message is also in the Sumner MSS.

² The originals of the three following letters are in the Lincoln MSS., and copies were courteously given by Hon. Robert T. Lincoln.

your especial attention to the last half. You will find it learned, thorough and candid.

The author is a conservative Republican, and his paper was read before the Mass. Historical Society, which is one of the most conservative bodies in our country.

I deplore the result in New York. It is worse for our country than the bloodiest disaster on any field of battle. I see only one way to counteract it; and this is by the most unflinching vigor, in the field and in council. Our armies must be pressed forward, and the proclamation must be pressed forward; and the country must be made to feel that there will be no relaxation of any kind, but that all the activities of the country will be yet further aroused.

I am sanguine yet of the final result, although I fear further disaster; but I am sure of two things, first, this grand Republic cannot be broken up and secondly, slavery in this age cannot succeed in building a new Govt. Believe me, my dear sir, Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

LIVERMORE TO SUMNER.

BOSTON, December 25, '62.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — Four volumes of the *Congressional Globe* came to me today with your frank, to be added to my library of political documents which, thanks to your kind attention, has grown greatly since you have been in the Senate.

The President is to issue his Proclamation of freedom on New Years Day, thank Heaven! God bless Abraham Lincoln will rise from millions of hearts and tongues! I do want to get and to keep the pen with which he signs this Declaration of Independence. Can it be done without impropriety — i. e., can you in any way get it for me? I would not trouble you or him for any ordinary matter, but I so much desire to have that precious instrument come to Massachusetts that I would do almost any thing to get it.

What becomes of the Manuscript of the Proclamation? Is that preserved? That would be still better than the pen — if it could be had after the printer had published it.

I enclose a letter for Dr. Lieber, not knowing where in Washington to direct to him. With the best wishes of the season, I am, Affectionately your friend,

GEORGE LIVERMORE.

SUMNER TO LINCOLN.

F St. — 2, 12. Sunday. [December 28, 1862.]

MY DEAR SIR,—I enclose a note from Mr. Livermore, the author of the *Historic Research* on slavery in the early days of our Government, in which he expresses a desire for the pen with which you sign the immortal Proclamation. If nobody has yet spoken for it, let me.

He also inquires about the ms.

I hope you will be able to gratify him at least in part.

Believe me, dear sir, Faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

Annotation on envelope, in handwriting of President Lincoln:
“The pen it is to be signed with.”

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, and Messrs. LONG, STANWOOD, HART, LORD, WOODS, W. R. LIVERMORE, and T. L. LIVERMORE.